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within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homo-sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

WT But local Europeans who know the
838 Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian
181 missionaries who live among them in the
595 western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT
719 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion
595 condemns not only polygyny and divorce,
174 but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

T
595 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been
341 my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is
WT practised in a society which I understand
341 exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a
[10A] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchama-doong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchama-doong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

T1
595 It must not be imagined for a minute, of
587 course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

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so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions.

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the perogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnerise. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places.

There was much osteomelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tikse Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tikse* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character.

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the Gad-po-pa (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat, nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness

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and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

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793 moved down to the more physical plane and entered the life of the other.

[775] Their chief spiritual head is the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and he is to them "the Vice-Regent of Buddha on earth". They, and all Buddhists believe in reincarnation—some souls remain in the spirit world for many, perhaps thousands of years resting, while those of the more important leaders such as the Dalai Lama and head lamas of some of the great monasteries leave the body when it dies and enter into that of a child almost immediately.

Writing in 1932 of the life of the monks themselves, Norris who appears to have studied the subject, says that they "are generally lax in observing the precepts of their religion and depraved in many of their habits, so that one cannot help comparing their practises with the worst abuses prevalent among monasteries in Europe during the middle ages. In Ladakh Buddhism has sunk into a system of degraded idolatry, guided by meaningless conventions and fantastic superstitions".

[795] Of the nuns one reads in *Kashmir*, "as in the case of the lamas, there are both the yellow and the red sects. . . . Nuns of the yellow sect enjoy a higher reputation than their red counterparts".

595 838 Either polygamy or polyandry will throw out the balance of the remaining unabsorbed sex, but in Ladakh there is this added custom whereby no family is permitted to have more than one wife. Human nature being what it is, one would expect difficulties to arise in this connection, but it would appear, from what I both heard and saw, that few of the sexual acts condemned as perversions by Moses in the Holy Bible and by Mohammed in the Holy Koran are considered as sins, or even mentioned in the "book" of these lamas.

346 423 The monasteries, which own much land and property, are known as Gimpa by the Ladakhis. Both impressive and picturesque, they are practically always perched on what at first appears to be an inaccessible cliff, the walls of stone masonry usually of the same colour as the site which overlooks the whole of the village.

793 I was taken over more than one of these by my Ceylon friend, spending two nights there, for the lamas are a most hospitable bunch of fellows. I must admit that as I got to know the few